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DANCING AND MUSIC

Notes From

GUINAANG, BONTOC, MOUNTAIN PROVINCE, PHILIPPINES

(fn. 1)

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1. Dancing. All dancing in Guinaang may be broadly classified as social dancing. The people dance, they say, because they are happy and on the occasions when dances are held, there is a definite festive spirit, testifying to the pleasure which the participants experience. However because all of Guinaang social life is deeply interlocked with its religious life, and because much of its religious life is dependent on rites connected with the now outlawed practice of headtaking, the indigenous dancing may likewise be classified as expressions of religious fervor on the one hand, and remnants of tribal fighting rites on the other.

1.1 The occasions for dancing. The occasions for dancing are many, but all are dependent on one factor termed *iyag*. No village action of any import can take place without first consulting the spirits of the ancestors, who indicate whether the occasion is propitious or otherwise by using the calls of certain birds; the most important of which is known as the *ích*ew. Following a propitious call at certain places, high in the mountains (where in former times battles took place and men were killed), the omen seeking party returns to the village, giving loud cries to indicate a successful expedition. Shields, spears and back baskets which they took with them, are piled up at the *ab-afóngan* (Bontoc *áto* - men's gathering and sleeping place) and in the evening an old man shouts the fact that the following days are *téer*. These days (usually three) see the appropriate sacrifices performed, and prayers offered to assure the success of the village action. These days are holidays; the law that no work outside the village borders may be done being often rigidly enforced with fines or other punishments. This whole complex is known as *iyag* and it is on certain of these occasions when dancing may be performed. There is, however, one exception that has been noted, and that is during the period set aside for the celebrating of *fayas* wedding ceremonies commonly termed *chono*. These are not dependent on an *iyag*, and certain features distinguish this dancing from that performed on other occasions. These features will be mentioned below.

1.1.1 Iyag with dancing. Although dancing is normally dependent on the *iyag*, not all *iyag* will permit dancing. Those that do include the following occasions.

1.1.1.1 Iyag associated with a specific village ward. In case of crop disease, the *ab-afóngan* named Ingit will perform an *iyag* called *likhib* 'crop disease'. Dancing will take place on this occasion, the festivity driving the disease away. Likewise, an *iyag* called *pasíkar* is performed each year to increase the amount of rice harvested. This is always the responsibility of the central *ab-afóngan*, named Chatar, and dancing can normally take place. Any *ab-afóngan* which has received bad omens consecutively can

perform an *iyag* termed *palinteg*, to 'straighten' the omens by sacrifice. Dancing is always performed.

1.1.1.2* Iyag *requested by individuals. Such *iyag* are performed for individuals who believe themselves to be afflicted by an ancestor whose death has not been revenged. This affliction usually manifests itself in sickness, but may also be manifested in personality traits which cross the bounds of Guinaang social custom, such as thieving. The offending ancestor will be discerned by one of the old men, and the *ab-afóngan* to which he belonged, plus the *ab-afóngan* of the afflicted person (always a man), will perform the *iyag*. These *iyag* are term *sálit*. Dancing is performed on these occasions, maybe with the same thought as was expressed for the *iyag* for crop disease — to help drive the affliction away by merriment.

1.1.2* Iyag *without dancing. These include the following occasions:

1.1.2.1* Iyag *before harvest. The *iyag* called *sórat* (*insórat* 'to block a hole'). This is a three-day *téer* associated with cleaning of terrace walls and the blocking of rat holes, so that the developing rice may not be eaten by rats.

The *iyag* called *sáar* (*insáar* 'to bring home'). This is a ceremony held before rice harvest.

The *iyag* held before harvesting of rice at Fákhiw, which is one of the main terrace areas, and the last to be harvested.

These three *iyag* are performed to bring about a successful rice harvest. It is said that to dance on these occasions would be to show festivity prematurely and would anger the *anito* or spirits of their ancestors.

1.1.2.2* Iyag *after rice planting. A ten-day ceremony, termed *apoy* 'fire', held at every terrace after the planting of rice, during which meat is cooked and rice wine is offered to the rice field spirit. This ceremony was originally accompanied by dancing, but now it is forbidden as the young people have begun putting pieces of white paper in split runo reeds and placing them in their hair to add to the head decorations. These are termed *sókay*. This has been blamed as the cause in recent years of an abundance of white, empty heads of rice, actually the result of a small worm infestation.

1.1.3* Áfig *restrictions. All of the above occasions described when dancing can take place, depend upon a vague factor which might be described as freedom from the aura of certain unfortunate occurrences. These mainly include death by violence or accident, and death by childbirth. Such occasions cast the village into a set of ceremonial restrictions, termed *áfig*, lasting for a

minimum of one complete season. Thus the death of a Guinaang man in Bontoc caused by falling from a terrace wall in March 1960, caused a village *áfig* lasting until after the harvesting of rice in July. An *iyag* performed in this period during which dancing would normally be allowed (e.g., *pasíkar* described above) did not hear the sound of a single gong. A village *áfig*, termed *okílas*, which occurs after the performance of *fayas* wedding ceremonies, will allow dancing during the allowable *iyag*, but other *áfig* restrictions are maintained. The term *ferway* is used for the *iyag* which closes an *áfig* period. However, this same *iyag* occurs at the end of the three main seasons of the year, whether there has been a village *áfig* during the season or not. These main seasons are as follows:

a. Tilling of the soil, ending in October or November.
b. Harvesting of sugar cane, ending in March.
c. Harvesting of rice, ending in June.

Dancing will take place on each of these occasions only if they are not also closing an *áfig* period for 'bad death'.

***1.1.3.1 Personal* áfig.** This is brought about by a number of different events, for example, the birth of animals or children, all ceremonies connected with the life including death, and does not affect the village ceremonies. A person with such an *áfig* however would not participate in the dancing.

***1.1.4 The* Iyag - Téer *Relationship*.** The proclamation of a *téer* day does not necessarily mean that an *iyag* has been successfully started. There are certain occasions which are declared as holidays merely for rest, as during rice harvest, *okang si ákob si in-áni* 'the opening of the lunch baskets of the harvesters', or at the end of sugar cane harvest, *charepchep,* following the visit of relatives to another village for wedding ceremony participation, *pásing*, and for certain of the lesser wedding ceremonies in the village, *karasákas*. Following a death, a *téer* is declared in respect for the dead, *saráeg*. None of these days has an *iyag*, nor are sacrifices performed, and therefore no dancing is permitted.

1.2 The types of dances. All dancing that is seen in Guinaang may conveniently be divided into two groups. The indigenous dances, or *fallíwes*, and the introduced dances.

***1.2.1 The* fallíwes *dances*.** Any occasion in which dancing is allowed will mainly feature the *fallíwes* dance. These are the commonest of the dances, the most widely photographed by visitors, and the ones which have been collectively called the "Bontoc War Dance." The name *fallíwes* comes from the root *líwes* 'to go in a circle, to turn about, to reverse direction'. The dance thus takes its name from the predominant movement of the men dancers. Other

names for this dance are *pattong* and *khangsa*, taking their names respectively from the term for the gong-beater, and the name for the gong.

1.2.1.1 Dancing ground. Every *iyag* involves at least one *ab-afóngan,* and sometimes as many as four or five. Dancing will only take place at the *ab-afóngan* involved, never at those who have not sent representatives to listen for omens, or to witness the sacrifices at the sacrificial places.

Each *ab-afóngan* consists of a long, low dormitory, taboo for women, in which the old men and bachelors sleep. From its small entrance stretches an area paved with large flat stones, with a fire in the center and several upright stones for leaning posts. This is surrounded by a low stone wall. Out from this, and usually at a lower level, is a larger area, which is the dancing ground. It is in this particular area that dancing may take place.

Because of contests which in recent years have been held between church schools from the villages, the school boys have been practicing and perfecting their techniques apart from the allowable *iyag* occasions. To do this they have had to take their gongs outside the village boundaries, and/or dance in the church compound. Such restrictions however are not placed on the pre-school children, who spend most of their days with a sardine can and a stick, beating their way around any flat place that is available, their little girl friends joining with outstretched arms, just like their older sisters.

During the *iyag* for *sálit*, dancing may also take place at the house of the person on whose behalf the *iyag* is being performed.

During *fayas* wedding ceremonies, dancing is performed at each of the participating houses whose social standing allows them to exhibit the heads of the carabao sacrifices on big pine log erections outside the house. During these ceremonies, no dancing is allowed at the *ab-afóngan,* because no *iyag* has been performed.

1.2.1.2 Participants. Every man is associated with one or another of the *ab-afóngan,* and he is expected to join in the projects, work and play of that *ab-afóngan*. It is there that he slept as a boy, and it is to the same place that he will return as an old man when his wife dies. However he is not restricted to that *ab-afóngan* when it comes to dancing. He is perfectly free to dance at any *ab-afóngan* he desires.

For the ladies however, the situation is quite different. She is not associated with the *ab-afóngan* in any way, even though the men in her working group are all from one *ab-afóngan*, and the girls dormitory in which she sleeps may be adjacent to an *ab-afóngan*, yet if she desires to dance there, she is expected to bring a small gift. This can be a can of rice, or as is often the case, a bowl

of beans. The food thus gathered is cooked at the *ab-afóngan* and eaten there by the male members that evening.

There is no age limit to the participants. Anybody may take part, although the older men are given preference, because of their social position and experience. Such old men often show amazing agility in their movements, and are respected for their dancing, ability. If a gong is left over a child of 6 or 7 years of age may pick it up and join the end of the line, following the actions of the leaders like veterans. Groups of children are also given opportunity to show their ability and toexercise their own leadership.

1.2.1.3 Dancing style. A typical dance will begin when the young men who have been sitting about on the large flat stones of the *ab-afóngan* goad each other into picking up a gong and preparing for the dance. Fifteen or twenty gongs may be lying about on the ground, resting against the *ab-afóngan* walls, or hanging in their woven bamboo cases from the tree which shades the area. Each fellow will finally choose the gong which suits him best, having felt the weight, and tested the resonance, and the pitch and quality of the tone. Soon the air is filled with the ring of the gongs as they each try to get into the correct beat and rhythm. Usually one will begin with a long measured beat, others coming in on the half beat, and as uniformity is maintained a quarter beat is struck. If the tempo sounds to be too fast, or too slow, somebody will cut completely across the rhythm with a new tempo of his own, and everybody else stops to come in on the new beat.

One man may be appointed by common consent to take the lead in the dance, or if somebody desires to be the leader, he may just start off into the dancing area without consulting his companions. The leader usually starts out with a large step, body upright, often with a grotesque facial expression, and gong held waist high; as his companions follow closely, the dancing step becomes shorter, and he begins to introduce some variations in style. The dance is always performed counterclockwise.

1.2.1.3.1 Men's styles. Style variations are of four kinds:

a. changes of step.
b. changes of direction.
c. changes of gong position.
d. changes of body position.

Changes of step are many, and description is difficult and inadequate, because the foot placing is very finely adjusted to the rhythm, and such relationship is not easy to define. However the steps may vary from a rhythmic shuffle in which the feet barely leave the ground, to one in which the feet are lifted high, with a well bent knee. There is a type of step in which both feet hit the

ground on the same beat, being alternately raised and placed forward on the following quarter beats, giving the appearance of a short rhythmic jump.

Change of direction can involve a turn-about face in which everybody changes their relative position in the line, the tail-ender becoming first, the leader becoming last. This almost invariably involves a reverse step, in which the whole line dances backwards; otherwise the dance would become clockwise in motion. Another type of direction change takes place when the leader stops his forward progression, dances on the spot, and rotates his body first to one side, then to another.

Varieties of gong position also give the dance interest. Normal position is waist high with the gong held in the left hand and struck with a padded stick (*pattong*) held in the right. The two main varieties of this are the holding of the gong at head level or above, and the holding of it down close to the ground. Gong positions also involve body positions. Low gongs usually involve a crouched body position, or merely bent low from the waist. High gongs involve a proud upright position, often with more pronounced foot movement.

These varieties of style are often combined to produce different effects. All motions may be produced with what appears to be an attempt to create a feeling of gross, excess, forte movement. At other times the leader may bring his team into a complete circle, the foot movement will gradually cease, bodies will crouch low, moving slightly up and down to the rhythm of the gongs, and on one occasion that was witnessed, even the gongs gradually stopped, with just body movements to keep the rhythm.

It is up to the leader to retain interest in style. If he runs out of ideasor tires, he will then relinquish his leadership by stepping over to the tail end; number two in line, then becomes leader. Sometimes the team will split into two, each following the style of its own leader, and weaving its way around the other team . A dance lasts until the leaders tire, or interest lessens, usually within fifteen to twenty minutes. It is the leader's privilege to close his dance if he so desires. The usual procedure is to lead his team into a close spiral with bodies crouching and gongs lowering until the leader places his gong face downward on the ground. Everybody immediately follows suit and the dance stops until a new group is formed to begin all over again.

1.2.1.3.2 Women's styles. The dancing position of the women is normally in a circle encompassing the men. Women are not required to complement the dancing, and the first one or two dances of the day may be performed by men only. As the noise of the gongs rings through the village, the women begin to gather, until before long they are tightly packed about the men, dancing three, four or even five deep, right around the circle. Women normally do not

change their relative position in the dancing. Three or four young women may line up behind each other, facing towards the dancing circle of men, and will hold that position till the dance is over. Foot movement is always the same, and is performed in time with the men's foot movements. It consists of a slight forward movement with the right foot, and a short backward kick with the left, or vice versa. This is associated with rhythmic body movement from the knees. The arms are held either outstretched, with loosely bent elbows, and thumbs pointing upwards, jogging thus with the body movement, or when they tire, resting on the breast, knuckles of closed fists touching at the center of the body.

There are certain old women who are noted for their exhibitionism. One of these may join in line with the dancing men, imitating their movements, including the beating of the gongs, but never has one been seen to pick up a gong, and actually join in beating with the men. Another type of dancing, which appears to be primarily exhibitionism, occurs when one of these older women will dance within the circle of the men; sometimes using the normal women's style dancing; other times imitating the men; sometimes dancing in a set position, other times feinting her movements with the leader. Often her arm movements become more rigid with unbent elbows; and with body bent forward from the waist, she raises first one arm high to one side, then the other arm, all the time keeping feet and body movements in rhythm with the gongs.

1.2.1.4 The dress of the dancers. Guinaang people, probably in common with most other peoples, welcome the dance as an opportunity to appear in their finest clothes, making the occasion a great splash of color and interest.

1.2.1.4.1 Women's dress. Women clothe themselves in their best, brightly colored, intricately patterned, woven wrap-around skirts, secured at the waist by a woven waist band about four to six inches wide. This is tightly wound twice around the waist, and tied so that the eighteen inch long strings from each end meet at the center back and form a swaying tail when dancing. Blouses of cheap, brightly-colored cotton manufacture bought from Bontoc stores seem to be considered the ideal top covering. Women, who normally do not wear a blouse of any description, would never dance without some form of covering. Older women drape themselves with their best woven blanket, passed under one arm and tied in a knot on the opposite shoulder.

Headdress is both colorful and varied. The bulk consists of string upon string of beads, of many different kinds and manufacture. The head beads worn in normal everyday wear are all used. There are large white beads which appear to be a type of china or porcelain, interspersed with strings of small red and white beads, made of a type of plastic, which can be bought cheaply in Bontoc. Added to these are the beads which are worn only on special

occasions. These are the genuine stones which have been passed down through many generations, and are valued at hundreds of pesos per strand. Added again is the snake-spine circlet, an important piece to any headdress, and one which takes on particular significance during childbirth. To crown it all, flowers may be placed one on either side of the head - the common sunflower being often used, or leaves of tobacco may be draped from the beads. A common addition is a 6" piece of *runo* reed split to receive a piece of paper, or a bunch of peso bills, usually of the Japanese occupation currency variety. A pair of sunglasses is considered the final accessory in fine dressing for the Guinaang dance. It matters little if one of the lenses is missing, or two for that matter. Even if it is pouring with rain, the dance goes on just the same -- and so do the sunglasses.

1.2.1.4.2 Men's dress. A man will dress in his fanciest loincloth, with a finely patterned wide front flap reaching nearly to his knees, the back piece swinging down as far as his calves. He also likes to wear a brightly colored sports shirt - if he has one. For his head a young man wears a fancy woven basket hat, with boar's tusks on either side, and two or three strings of red beads supporting it across his forehead, and hanging at the back to his neck. If he does not have a basket hat, any hat will do, no matter how big, old or ragged. This, a pair of old boots and the sunglasses are the finishing touches. Around their necks or from the ears of both men and women hang further evidences of wealth in the form of gold earrings, also of differing size and design.

1.2.1.5 Variations. The *fallíwes* described above is the normal dance performed nowadays; however, there are two variations, which because of the nature of the occasions on which they are performed are rarely seen in Guinaang. In Bontoc, however, they are frequently performed as dancing demonstrations for visitors.

1.2.1.5.1* Fallíwes *after taking a head. [(fn. 2)] It is said that the *fallíwes* on such an occasion was particularly joyous. There was much merriment, and the warriors who had done the killing were feted. The killer's first task on bringing home a head was to perform dog and pig sacrifices to protect himself from the spirit of his victim. The ceremony was called *tomo*. Following the successful completion of these ceremonies, the *fallíwes* was held. The distinguishing features of this *fallíwes* were two:

a. The use of a special song called *charrókhay*, usually sung in the *ab-afóngan*, between the dances.
b. In addition to the normal dress used, armbands were used which consisted of boar tusks, with tufts of human hair hanging from the band; boar tusk necklaces were also used.

1.2.1.5.2 The* Aráyat *variation. The peace pacts which over the years have been made with the villages in the surrounding areas, are all held verbally by the members of one or another of the six *ab-afóngan* in the village. If an *ab-afóngan* so desires it can renew a peace pact with one of the villages by killing several water buffalo and inviting the village concerned to a feast. Dancing always follows such occasions, and it is then that the *aráyat* can be performed. It consists of a normal *fallíwes* as described above, while two men, holding shields and spears perform a mock battle, either within the circle of the other dancers, or one on either side of the circling men.

1.2.1.6 Opening and closing themes. Before a day's dancing begins and also at the end of the last day's dancing, a theme is played, called *tachek*. This is performed by a small group of old men. They normally stand holding the gongs and begin a slow measured beat. There may be no foot or body movement, or the weight of the body may be shifted from one foot to the other, allowing two beats for each body movement. Another style is to keep both feet on the ground, bend the knees, and rotate the body from side to side on each second beat. It has also been seen with all men squatting and no body movement.

Following the *tachek*, all but one man squat, the standing man shouting what is termed *férew*. This is a kind of challenge, in which a heroic deed of his or one of his ancestors is quoted, and the young men present are challenged to emulate the bravery.

Fároskayoy mamallíwes!	Be challenged, dancers!
Sinlong áma nan iyókan	My father pushed through a wasp swarm
Ad Láchekhay.	At Lácheg.
Kinmekegséret,	He was tough, so
Komegserkayoy kafarrofarro!	You (also) be tough young men!

Fároskayoy mamallíwes!	Be challenged dancers!
Chinpapkos Lokóong	I caught Lokóong
As Afáten.	At Afáten.
Natákhowáket,	I lived, so
Matákhokayóway kafarrofarro!	You live (too) young men!

Tachekayóway fafarro!	This is your *tachek* young men!
Linapon amámi	Our fathers massacred
Nan toron póroway Sapon	The thirty Japanese
Ad Fato!	At Fato!

Following the *fáros* call, the shouter crouches with his companions and a short chorus called *wéer* is sung. The whole procedure is usually repeated three times. However at the completion of dancing, the *tachek* may be left out. An old man may intervene in the dance in progress, and take the gong from the leader, being the signal for all others to lay down their gongs. He will then shout a *fáros*, the *wéer* will be sung, and they will proceed to the area nearer the *ab-afóngan* sleeping house, where food will be served to all the men dancers. This three-fold complex of *tachek, fáros* and *wéer* occurs in many ceremonies and does not necessarily signal the beginning of dancing.

1.2.2 Introduced dance forms. There are a number of dances which use gongs as an accompaniment, but which are not recognized as being Central Bontoc in origin. These are performed at the *ab-afóngan* as a diversion, during intermissions of the *fallíwes*. It is only the younger men and women who take part in these dances, and a majority are willing just to sit and witness, and never to try their skill. It is usually stated that these dances came via Western Bontoc, but this cannot be vouched for. The two main dance types are called *fogfókhi* and *takik*.

***1.2.2.1 The* fogfókhi.** This dance (also called *bogibógi* – from Eng. *boogie-woogie*), consists of a ring of young men crouched or seated on the ground, striking a very fast beat on the gongs, which are held and struck in the same manner as for the *fallíwes*. One young man and one young lady take to the "floor", and begin their dance. It consists mainly of a variety of foot movements, for which the man leads and the lady follows, facing each other across the "floor", and gradually rotating round it. This progresses to the stage when the dancers hold hands and repeat their steps around the circle, sometimes the man looping under his partner's arm, the lady then looping under his. A third stage occurs when the young man places his hands on his partner's hips and follows her around the circle in a repeat of the original steps.

1.2.2.1.2 The* pinanyóran *variation. The only difference between this dance and the one described above is that the dancers each hold in their stretched out hand a handkerchief or headscarf (*panyor* from Sp. *panuelo*). This dance, although appearing in style to be much the same as the *fogfókhi* in Guinaang , and also named as such by them, may well be of true Montane origin. It is said to be danced with greater skill and distinctiveness by the Kalinga.

1.2.2.1.2 The* inot-ótot *variation. This is also termed *fogfókhi*, but the dancers perform their steps leaning on a short length of *runo* reed. The

name comes from *ótot* 'rat', and the object appears to imitate the chasing of rats, as commonly seen in Guinaang. The young man will approach the lady, who will attempt to take refuge on the other side of the men beating the gongs, and so the rat chase continues, until she allows herself to be 'caught' and the dance finishes.

***1.2.2.2 The* takik *or* sála.** This dance also has a young man and a young woman as the main dancers. In this dance, however, the style of the two differ. The man's style is termed *sáyaw*, and woman's style is termed *fomafái*. Although the footwork of these styles is usually the same, the arm positions are different. The man holds his arms out rigidly to either side, whereas the woman holds her arms loosely, and bent at right angles at the elbows. There are two methods of providing accompaniment for this dance. One is called *tambol*, in which the men with gongs sit on the ground having the gongs resting on their folded legs, while the beat is struck out with the palms of their hands. The term *tambol* is an introduced word, probably from Western Bontoc, where it is the name of a long (two to four foot) wooden drum, straddled by the player. In Guinaang, the wooden drum is unknown, and the method described above has become the substitute. The other method is for two or three men with gongs to follow the foot movements of the young man doing the *sáyaw* dance, and at the same time strike their gongs intermittently with the wooden end of their gong 'hammer'. The sharp ring produced is broken periodically with a sideways movement of the left hand (holding the gong handle) against the rim of the gong, dampening the sound. Frequently the gong is held, cradled in the left arm, the inner surface being struck to produce the sound, and dampening effects being produced by contact of the gong face against the supporting left forearm.

2. Songs. The Guinaang people have a set of songs which provide suitable music for every phase of a person's life and ceremonial experience. One or more of these songs is sung when any pig sacrifice is performed; when working in the fields; when courting young women; during wedding ceremonies; after a successful head-taking foray; when sickness strikes, and finally when death occurs. All of these songs are sung by groups of people, although the theme may be introduced as a solo. Some are men's songs and some are women's. All are sung unaccompanied by any musical instrument.

2.1 songs connected with dances. There are two occasions when songs are associated with the *fallíwes* dancing.

2.1.1 *The* charrókhay *or victor's song.* This song is sung during the *charrókhay* variation of the *fallíwes*. The place where it is usually sung is at the *ab-afóngan*, although in the evening after eating, married men may

join the young bachelors in visiting in the *pángis* 'unmarried girls' dormitories' and the *charrókhay* will also be sung there. It is now about fifteen years since this song was last sung, and the majority of the men have forgotten the tune. It is said to be a response type song with extemporaneous words.

2.1.2 *The* Choy-os *or song for the sick.* This is only performed duing the *iyag* termed *sálit* (see section 1.1.1.2). During intermissions of the *fallíwes,* men and women will form themselves into separate lines, side by side, men usually on the outside. As the songs are sung both men and women perform slow foot and body movements as a rhythm accompaniment to their singing. The most important of the *choy-os* songs is known as *khoykhoy* which also means 'to draw'. It has extemporaneous words but a set theme, in which a prominent member of the village which was responsible for the death of the ancestor of the sick man is called to Guinaang, as a token revenge for his death. The final verse consists of the words: *Ipeg-anam nan inegnam* 'Release the one on whom you took hold.' This song must be carried through to its conclusion, when the man from the other village is metaphorically sung into the *ab-afóngan*, or else serious sickness would inflict other *ab-afóngan* members, it is said.

When the *khoykhoy* is finished a song known as *ekhéya* is often sung. This is the word used in the refrain. It is said that this song is borrowed, having been brought up from Bontoc. Words are extemporaneous, and theme suitable for the occasion being followed. The *ekhéya* does not have the significance for the sick man that the *khoykhoy* does.

2.2 Sacrificial songs. These songs, termed generically *ayyeng* are sung after all pig or dog sacrifices in both house sacrifices – in which a family is responsible, and in the *ab-afóngan* – in which all the members of that *ab-afóngan* share the responsibility. The *sangfo* or a pig sacrifice at a house, is conducted on the following occasions, amongst others: during a difficult childbirth; when somebody in the house is sick; at the completion of a wedding feast; when occupying a newly built house; when a house is transferred to another site; after receiving an inheritance; for the welfare of the harvest; and after the burying of the dead. The *chaw-es,* or pig sacrifice at the *ab-afóngan,* is performed on numerous occasions, including several of the *iyag* mentioned above, and on other non-*iyag* occasions. The *ayyeng* is exclusively a men's song, no women being allowed to partake. Likewise it is usually only the older men who sing. The younger men state that they have not yet learned how to sing the *ayyeng* songs.

2.2.1 The introducing theme. After the pig has been killed and the necessary prayer said, one of the leading old men will begin the *erwa* or introducing theme. It consists of a short embellished solo, often addressed

to the spirits in which the purpose of the sacrifice just performed is briefly set out. It is followed immediately by a *wéer* chorus, exactly the same as is used to follow the *fáros* (see section 1.2.1.6). This is repeated three times, different words being sung in the solo on each occasion. Following the final *wéer* anybody is free to lead into the main *ayyeng*.

***2.2.2 The* ayyeng.** The words of the *ayyeng* are extemporaneous although it seems that general themes are followed, as all the participants are able to join in almost immediately the leader begins to sing, as if they know what is to be sung, and just need his cue to come in. These themes relate to the occasion which is being celebrated; thus during wedding feasts, the *ayyeng* would deal with the fruitfulness of the married couple, the increase of their crops, and the quality of their pigs and chickens. The *ayyeng* continues on many occasions right through day and night, with only breaks for eating of the cooked rice and squares of boiled pig fat and meat. Refreshments are always in evidence; the first servings being provided by the man who is responsible for the sacrifice. Others may then bring gifts of rice beer, sugar cane wine, and tobacco to distribute among their companions. The longer the *ayyeng* continues, the freer the wine flows, and the more boisterous the singing becomes. The men squatting around their pitch pine fires, shout themselves hoarse in their endeavor to take the lead and have the group sing their words. Those with the loudest voices, the strongest personalities, and the fiercest appearances are usually the men to take the lead.

2.2.3 The fokhinney *closing song.*

The *fokhinney* is the closing song just before eating when the sacrifice has been performed at a house. Although regarded as an *ayyeng* song, the *fokhinney* differs in several ways, the most noticeable being the fact that it has a much less vigorous, and a more melodious tune, and secondly that it has set words. The majority of the words used are old and not now in common use. Many have even lost their meanings. Whereas the main *ayyeng* seems to be only an expression of the desires of the singers, and appears to be directed to the beneficiary of the pig sacrifice, or the household which has performed the sacrifice, the *fokhinney* is directed to the inanimate objects, rice, corn, water etc., also to pigs and chickens (see Appendix 1.)

2.2.4 *The* lawrawwi *closing song.* The *lawrawwi* is the closing song, just before eating when the occasion is a *chaw-es,* or *ab-afóngan* sacrifice. This likewise has set words and a more melodious tune than the main *ayyeng*.

2.3 Working songs. These songs, commonly called *chag-ay*, can be conveniently divided into two types. Those which are sung outside the village and those sung within a house.

2.3.1 Chag-ay *outside the village*. These songs, termed *chag-ay ad ilit* 'songs of the village outskirts', are characterized by a strong vigorous rhythm, bodies often moving in time with the singing. Words are extemporaneous, although set themes are followed, according to the work being done. In the *chag-ay* songs, many words are used which are completely different from words of the same meaning in normal everyday speech. These are considered to be an essential part of *chag-ay* language. Other words are completely distorted with added syllables and sounds to fit the rhythm and make the rhyme. It is very common for words with open initial syllables to double the central consonant, creating initial closed syllables.

The method of group labor practiced in Guinaang – the *obfo* system, in which each member receives in turn the benefit of the full group's work in his or her field, is ideally suited to this type of song. Men and women are usually equally divided between the groups, each having between fifteen to twenty personnel. The *chag-ay* can be sung as a response type, in which one group will sing the lead and the other group will follow, or all will sing together. The use of the song is to break the monotony of the labor and to provide rhythm for the work. It is quite a common sight to see a group of men and women standing in a circle around a heavy rock (which is to be transported for the building of a wall) singing a vigourous *chag-ay*. Men are often dressed only in a waist belt, with a pad of leaves on their shoulder for protection from the weight of the stone; while women, often bare to the waist, use a thick pad of leaves on their head, for protection from the stones they carry, and as shade from the heat of the sun. As the song finishes, three or four men will immediately hoist aloft the rock, and place it on the shoulder of the man poised to receive it. This is called *chag-ay si fato* 'song for a stone'.

Another occasion when the *chag-ay* is frequently sung is in the final preparation of mud in the terraces, preparatory to planting rice. The working group will line up across the field, join hands and sing the *chag-ay si samar* 'song for the soil preparation', then will tramp rhythmically forward, smoothing out the mud as they go. This is termed *chayyew*. Another of the common *chag-ay ad ilit* is the *chag-ay si fallíwes*. This is not related to the *fallíwes* dance, but the *fallíwes* or 'encircling of men as they turn the sugarcane mills'.

The tunes of these *chag-ay* are all much the same, although each *ab-afóngan* has its distinctive style. Only three notes are normally used, with

no embellishments as in the *ayyeng*. These are the tonic, sub-dominant, and dominant notes of the scale. Women and men in falsetto voices add counterpoint harmony, a fourth or fifth above the lower voices. There are a variety of words which can be used after each line as the chorus. Among them are *cheyyesen, chowwéey, sowwéey, wagkheswes, wesséey, yeyyéey*, and *yorwes*, none of which has meaning in itself.

Each line has approximately six or seven syllables, the final one rhyming with the word used for the chorus. There is a special *chag-ay* sung during harvesting. It differs from the above songs in that it has a more melodious tune and is less vigorous than the other *chag-ay ad ilit*. It is called *arroyan*, which is also the chorus word of the song.

2.3.2 Chag-ay *within a house*. These songs differ from the *chag-ay ad ilit* in several ways. The most obvious is the change from the low vigorous rhythm so characteristic of songs outside the village, to an extremely soft type of singing, usually starting in a very low register and getting higher as the song progresses. The rhythm of *chag-ay ad ilit* is marked by strong, load rearticulation of successive syllables, giving a staccato effect. *Chag-ay* within a house marks its rhythm in the same manner, but its syllable rearticulation is done softly and with a less staccato and more cantabale effect. The end of each phrase is marked by rhythmically sucking in two short breaths. The change in singing style is said to be in respect for people in nearby houses, who might otherwise be disturbed. However, the change in style is also in accord with the change of mood, brought about by the occasions on which these *chag-ay* are sung, and the change of semantic content. The songs outside the village may deal with the heat of the day, the tiredness of the laborers, and related themes. The songs in the house usually have courting themes.

The third distinction between these two kinds of *chag-ay* is the time when they are sung. Songs outside the village are sung during daylight working hours. Songs in a house are sung at night.

The songs of the house are of two types, the *chag-ay si fáyo*, the rice pounding song, and the *areng-eng* or courting song. Having completed a day's labor in the fields, an *obfo* working group will go to the house of the member who has received the day's work, where they will eat. Married men may then return to their own houses or *ab-afóngan*, whereas the unmarried men will stay behind, if the host is one of the single girls of the group, and help with pounding rice. [(fn. 3)] It is on these occasions when the *chag-ay si fáyo* is sung. The *areng-eng*, also called *arog-og,* is only sung by the young men when they go to the *pangis* or young unmarried women's dormitory (Bontoc *ólog*). Such visits can take place on any evening, but the singing of the *areng-eng* is usually reserved till the evening of *téer* days,

when no work has been done and everybody is physically fresh and looking for an evening's entertainment. A group of young men from some of the *ab-afóngan* will decide to visit the girls of one of the *pangis*. After a short time of such talk as commonly passes between young men and women in such places, the *areng-eng* will be started. The young men often sing with eyes closed and looks of extreme pleasure on their faces, as they rest back in the arms of their chosen partner. After singing the *areng-eng* song, the girls are expected to bring in refreshments, rice wine, tobacco and food as gifts to the men who have come to visit. (See Appendix 3 for *chag-ay* texts).

2.4 Songs for a wedding ceremony. Guinaang people are very class conscious when it comes to weddings. One's social class determines the size and number of pigs or water buffalo sacrifices, and whether or not the wedding songs can be sung. There are three songs which are reserved exclusively for weddings, these are the *lefek, chaing* and *íkhan*.

2.4.1 *The* lefek *song*. This is the song which accompanies the ceremonial pounding of rice in certain of the higher class *lópis* or pig sacrificing ceremonies. In Western Bontoc, the term *inlefek* still retains the meaning of sugarcane milling, and through allusions in certain of the wedding prayers, originally had that neaning also in Central Bontoc. However it was a sugarcane pounding, as the initial breaking down stage before being passed through the primitive wooden mills. The *lebkan* around which the pounding takes place is a long trough (six to eight feet in length) and it was in this that the cut cane was laid for pounding. Nowadays it has lost this significance and the ceremonial pounding either takes place with an empty *lebkan*, or rice is placed in the trough.

Two rows of women stand face to face, on either side of the *lebkan*. These all hold pestles and slowly pound the rice in time with their singing. Their actions consist of body swaying, slow foot movements and fancy movements of the pestles, which include beating on the edge of the mortar. For each verse of the *lefek* song, each pestle strikes the rice only once, and the edge of the mortar once.

The words are extemporaneous, but are directed to the married couple, usually expressing desire for their fruitfulness, and the increase of their crops. However, any passing incident which attracts the attention of the leader can be put into the song.

The leader is usually an elderly woman, well experienced in the singing of this song. She will lead her side in the verse and in the chorus, in which the word *chowéey* is often utilized. The other side will then repeat the words and chorus of the first side. As visitors gather and invited guests

from other villages join in the proceedings, they may stand in banks behind the front rows, men and women joining in the singing and swaying in rhythm with the leaders, until fifty or more people may be gathered around the *lebkan*.

2.4.2. *The* chaing *song*. During the daytime as the *lefek* is being sung, there are three or four old women who sit under the thatched eaves of the house, and quietly sing the *chaing*. This continues until night falls when the men gather in groups around their small pitch pine fires outside the house, and they take over the singing of the *chaing*. One old man will be the leader, and will sing the theme for the verse as a solo before the others join in. The *chaing* has set words, which are mainly out of use now, and many have also lost their meanings. If for any reason there happens to be a break in the proceedings, the few old ladies still seated under the eaves will quietly continue until the men start again. The tune of the *chaing* is different depending on whether men or women sing it. However the words remain the same. The *chaing* continues until a pig is brought in and sacrificed, then the *ayyeng* begins.

There is one occasion apart from wedding ceremonies when *chaing* may be sung. This is at the house sacrifice of a pig performed for the general welfare of the crops, and the health of the participants. This ceremony is called *inchaing*.

There is one occasion when the *chaing* women's tune is used apart from the *chaing* words, that is during the *fayas* wedding ceremonies in which water buffalo are sacrificed. At one stage the mother of one of the participating couples will invite, by song, the deceased relatives from other villages to attend the feasting. This is done to prevent spirit-caused sickness during the feast. This song is called the *pinarámag* or 'bringing up'. (See Appendix 4 for *chaing* text).

2.4.3 *The* íkhan *song*. During the *fayas* wedding ceremonies mentioned above, pine log structures up to twenty feet in height are built by certain of the upper class families in front of their houses. From these are suspended the heads of water buffalo slain by that particular family. The four-posted variety of these structures is called *fansar*. A kind of platform is built on the top to which children can climb. From the erection of the *fansar* structures till their destruction several weeks later, there is usually a group of children on the top of each one singing the *íkhan* song with its distinctive melody.

The *íkhan* is primarily a children's song, although groups of unmarried men and women may also join in sometimes. The *íkhan* is properly sung from the top of the *fansar* but can be sung wherever a group of children

happen to be. Once the *fansar* is destroyed, it is taboo to sing this song. The people believe that doing so will cause the destruction of their water buffalo. The *íkhan* is an extemporaneous group song with no solo leads. Its chorus words are usually *orakyo* and *íkhan*. As with the other extemporaneous songs, set themes are usually followed, employing words which are not now used in common speech. (See Appendix 3 for *íkhan* texts).

2.5 The song at a death-watch. After a person dies, he is placed in a sitting position in a wooden frame in his house. Each village has its own custom regarding the time the body stays in the house. Guinaang people only keep the dead in the house one complete day. During that day the relatives gather, and spend their time stroking the head, face, arms and hands of the dead person, all the time singing the *áchog* or death-watch song. This is often more of a wail than a song. It is taken up by the people sitting inside the house, then men, women and children sitting outside may join in. The words are addressed to the departed person, alsways starting with the phrase *aney si áma* 'alas, our father' using, of course, the appropriate relationship term. This is often long and drawn out, starting on a high pitch and loud volume, and gradually dying down, till somebody else cries out *aney si áma*, and the *áchog* begins again. The death song finishes at dusk when the body is removed from the frame, placed in its coffin, and transported to one of the burial caves in the village.

3. Musical instruments. With the love that Guinaang people have for song and music, and with their well-developed sense of rhythm, it is surprising that they have only two musical instruments. One is the gong which has been mentioned in connection with the dancing, the other is the nose flute.

3.1 The gong. In Guinaang, the gong is termed *khangsa*. It is one of the symbols of wealth. Probably a majority of the families own at least one gong, a highly valued instrument, which has been passed from father to son, through many generations. These families are provided with certain privileges during the *fayas* wedding ceremonies, mentioned above. There is one ceremony lasting for four days or more, in which the gong owners are feasted in turn by each of the participating families in the *fayas*. With their love for metaphorical language, rich families when talking of buying or selling a gong, often refer to it as a *khiyag* 'woven plate'. *(fn. 4)*

The average size of these gongs is from twelve to eighteen inches in diameter, with a flange about two to three inches wide at right angles to the face. Two holes have been bored about four inches apart on the flange, and through these pass the fastenings for the hand piece. In former times this consisted of a jawbone taken from a vanquished enemy, but few of

these remain. Some use wooden handles crudely shaped into a V to represent a jawbone; others have boar tusks, or other pieces of bone as a substitute. Gongs are kept in open weave rattan baskets and between dances are stored in granaries, so that in the event of a house fire they would not be destroyed.

The gong striker, *pattong*, is made from a piece of rattan about nine inches long. Through a split in the end is placed a pad of cloth which is then bound tightly with strips of rattan. The other end of the striker often has a decorative winding of stripped rattan as well.

Gongs are not made in the area, being brought up from the lowland provinces They are said to have originated in China.

3.2 The nose flute. The nose flute, or *kararеng*, is made from a type of bamboo called *ánes*, which has a narrow diameter and a relatively long distance between each of the nodes. One section, including the node at each end, is cut for the making of a nose flute. It usually has a slight curve, is between eighteen inches and three feet long, and has a diameter of approximately half an inch. The nose end is cut flush with the node, and a small hole is then burned through the center of the node. The other end is burned open through the node. To position and make the holes for fingering, the central point between the two nodes is marked, and a hole is burned through the concave surface. This becomes the thumb hole. The lower end of the flute is then divided into half again, and the third quarter is divided in three. These markings position the three finger holes which are burned through on the convex surface. A piece of fine wire or a nail heated in an open fire is the normal instrument used for burning the holes. A small square is cut out around each of the holes to make a flat surface for good finger seating. Decorations are sometimes cut or burned on the flute in circular and crisscross patterns. Nose flutes are normally made by young unmarried men during the dry season months when the bamboo is easily accessible. It is not usual to season it before beginning making.

The nose flute is played by placing the upper end against one nostril and with sideways pressure blocking air from passing through the other. Normally if it is placed against the left nostril, it is held diagonally to the right of the body, left thumb on the thumb hole, and middle finger of the left hand over the first of the upper holes. The right hand index and middle fingers cover the other holes. There are no set melodies, each person developing his or her own style. Fingering is changed quickly and evenly, each note having the same value. The end of each melodic line (approximately equivalent to one exhaled breath) is normally rounded off by an embellishment on open notes an octave apart. This is produced by

variation of pressure (and thus actual position) of the flute against the nostril.

The nose flute is normally played by young unmarried men and women as a diversion during the long hours of attending the watering of rice fields, during the dry season; when planting takes place; and later while attending the ripening grain to protect it from ravenous rice birds. It is always played as a solo instrument and is never used in any of the religious or social ceremonies in Guinaang.

Notes

[1] Originally published as: Dancing and music in Guinaang, Bontoc. *Philippine Sociological Review* 9:55-82. (1961).

Notes for this paper have been gathered during an eighteen month's residence in Guinaang, mainly from observation, but also from an informant, Benedict Sibfay, a middle aged man who has spent most of his adult years in the village. The data cannot be guaranteed as representative of the dancing or music of other Bontoc areas. There has been little observation of practices outside of Guinaang, but it is assumed that within the Central Bontoc area, comprising the Barrios of Mainit, Dalican, Malegcong, Tococan, Bontoc, Bontoc itself, and extending to Sadanga in the North and Bayyo in the West, the overall pattern would be the same, although details may vary from place to place. All terms used are local Guinaang terms. [BACK]

[2] Head taking in Central Bontoc is now no longer practiced because of Government pressure, and the introduction of Christian teaching. For Guinaang the last occasions occurred during the Japanese occupation when thirty three Japanese soldiers were killed and beheaded when they visited the village, and shortly after, when a party from Guinaang killed two men from Sadanga in revenge of a Sadanga killing of a Guinaang man in the fields. [BACK]

[3] Married women do not work in the *obfo* system, but form groups of their own with no men workers. [BACK]

[4] Also a rice terrace is referred to as a wooden bowl, and a water buffalo is referred to as a young pine tree. [BACK]

APPENDIX 1

Fokhinney

San sinlap-íchay chóraw	One ceremonial basket
San sintengcha ay ngawey	One portion of tender sugarcane
Farfoyyoway menchekney	Your pigs, rolling fatness
Menchokinney	*Menchokinney*
Farfoyyóway menkhitomma	Your pigs, be gathered together
Khitomma yenmakomma	Legs, bent with old age
Parkheyyóway pochawan	Your *podchaw* rice
Parkheyyóway olíwey	Your rice, which is grown tall
Pinanar mayepayep	Thickly growing rice seedlings
Tinóned machiketan	Transplanted seedlings, taking root
Ónasyóway ipao	Your *ipao* sugarcane
Linfek san faron takho	Threshed by handsome people
Inkapopno san marayo	Has filled up your jar
Ónasyóway appoti	Your *appoti* sugarcane
Linfek san fabfafai	Threshed by women
Inkapopno san wangkhi	Has filled the *wanci* jar
Fakragyóway tod-awan	Your gabi, which is tall
Assan tongchon san charan	Above the trail
Fakragyoway kantíla	Your gabi, like a bolo
Am-in naapaytóchan	All well matured
Assan khowab san charan	Below the trail
Chanom ad Achomrangey	Water at Achomlangey
Oyong kano nan pakhey	Laden the rice with grain
Chanom ad Akhoyowan	Water at Akhoyowan
Sinafang nay kachakran	Merge into the biggest
Chap-ay ad Kalingayan	Flat stone at Kalingayan
Namekyakhanchas chóraw	They opened out the *chóraw* basket
Chóraw si maninengaw	The people's *chóraw*, who stay at home
Fansar ad Lakhonchayan	The *fansar* structure at Laconchayan
Namekfekanchas fafoy	Where they quarter the pig
Somersig nan feratna	It's fat is very thick
Oschóngan as Karyanan	Look down at the river
Karokrokfob nan ogsa	The deer are kneeling on front legs
Ninfotogchas lapóna	They were used as pigs before
Chanom ad Kafikaran	Water at Kafikalan
Sinócheychas katil-ey	Flowing through a piece of cane
Nangemsanchas narakay	Where they bathed the aged
Tay amed nan narakay	Because the aged are important
Yokyok kanod Pasilok	The small frog said to be at Pasilok
Makhanges nan saryokna	Its croaking reverberates
Manaryoknar manokna	Its croak to call the chickens

Falíli, khafot si takhos ona	Balili, the origin of the first people
Akhamma ay akhamma	Crab, o crab
Katamem si fanengna	Aim for the edge of the terrace
Karakar omas-asikiyafowan	*Kalakal* darting here and there
Ay-ayam si ongong-a	Toys of the children
Fareyay fanfan-íkhey	A very tiny house
Pinokitanchas pakhey	Crammed with rice
Inipakhey san kab-arey	Rice donated to the newly wed
Kakhamekhameng	Innumerable chinese jars
Kakhangsakhangsa	Innumerable gongs
Kasengsesengseng	Innumerable golden earrings
Karomyaromyang	Innumerable inherited head-beads
Kasangchasangchar	Innumerable iron vats
Kapayepayew	Innumerable pond fields
Kaomaóma	Innumerable dry fields
Kafotofótog	Innumerable pigs
Kamanomanok am-in	Innumerable chickens and all
Naay sap-onek chakayo	This is my proposal to you
Mo chakayos khomíko	If you are afflicting us
Ikerwagmoy anan-ak	Spread out the children
Ikerwagmo nan fótog.	Spread out the pigs.

APPENDIX 2

Lawrawwi

Lawwin iYommad yachen	The *Lawwi* of the Yommad people
Lawwíchay nalitlítan	Their *Lawwi* of long ago
Somchor ay paikayew	He sends us to have an omen hunt
Ay makafomakaren	Who continually hunted the enemies
Lawwíchay iMatarrew	The *Lawwi* of the Matarrew people
Lawwíchay narorongfo	The *Lawwi* which was *narorongfo*
Somchóray paikayew	Her sends us to have an omen hunt
Ay makafomakaren	Who continually hunter the enemies
Khayyang iYommad yachen	The spear of the Yommad man
Nasaad si Kamalig	Placed at Kamalig
Nangay-aynas fósorna	He calls out to his enemies
Karrasagnas sinkhit-ing	His shield so very small
Chayyontodnas chayyontod	He feinted with his shield
Nanigwangnas fósorna	He forced his way through his enemy
Wakkes iYommad yachen	The G-string of the Yommad man
Kaman finab-aredchan	Like the well patterned design
Archat iYommad yachen	The *archat* of the Yommad man
Kaman atinchorangen	Like the rainbow
Nalikchas si Paróong	They have gone to Paróong
Alikóchong pinomsong	Running here and there, jumping into the pool
Idchewchas Orkikiyaw	Their omen bird at Orkikiyaw
Inpat-ilewka fayaw	You show yourself
Mamiyodmis Amlipótan	Empowering us at Amlipotan
Fansenchas sinmay-ówan	Relieving us of our misfortunes
Nan segseg-angmin chakayo	Our pleas to you
Asosóyan	*Asosóyan*

APPENDIX 3

1. A song for soil preparation (*chag-ay si samar*)

2. A song for sugar cane milling (*chag-ay si fallíwes*)

3. A song for rice harvesting (*arroyan*)

4. A song for rice pounding (*chag-ay si fáyo*)

5. The *Íkhan* wedding song

1. *Chag-ay si samar*

Entakot kominnenfa oy	Let's go and eat
Nak-ab nan tinakfa oy	The back basket (stomach) is empty
Ya weseoy	*Weseoy*
Sakkod iyangnen sina oy	That's what must be done here
Ya weseoy	*Weseoy*
Anap si nar-eppa oy	Hunting for sustenance
Ya siya mampay	That's right
Waras ongarkos na oy	My hardship is severe
Weseoy	*Weseoy*
Nan ekway nan khodchowa	Lifting of the soil carrying baskets
Weseoy	*Weseoy*
Si taron si ongngaa	For maintaining children
Ya chengrem sa.	You listen to that.

2. *Chag-ay si fallíwes*

Sompangkhen	Who (*síno pan ngen*)
Síno kasim anapen	Who else will you look for
Fíloket fílok am-in.	We are all insufficient.
Entat chomangkhewaa	Let's start on the trail
Ta cheey si segkhaa	There's the descending sun
Cheey ay naisorpaa.	Just about to disappear.
Lenchanyos iyotterfaa	Feed the mill made of *aterfa* wood
Ta way maammas tinfaa	So that sugar candy will be made
Fab-alin si ong-aa.	For keeping children happy.
Akas na songlibfaa	Come here, young lady friend
Ta ichercherta naa	So we can push round the mill
Ta way maammas tinfaa	So that sugar candy will be made
Fab-alin si ong-aa.	For keeping children happy.
Akas na kay kagwaa	Come here my companion
Ta ichercherta naa	So we can push round the mill
Siyay way maammaa	As that is the way to make
Inomen si am-amaa.	The drink of the old men.
Entat mangewwaa	Let's start (*mangwa*)
Ta cheey si segkhaa	There's the descending sun
Kafogkha ay makwaa.	At Kafogca is the way.
Esak pay peppewchana	I will insist on getting (*pewchan*)
Apóngoychay apakrana	Their head beads made from *apakran* berries
Narpos nan atibfangrana.	It came out from the fern tree.
Entat mangewwaa	Let's start
Aw-ay insog-ed si liwwaa	Maybe my wife has begun cooking
Lagkhoyna ay kinormaa	Her skirt is the *kinorma* style
Aw-ay kinew-an nan naa	Maybe she has cleaned the inside of
Nan fanga ay payyaa.	The clay jar of the *payya* style.
Sorwes	*Sorwes* (repeated after each line)
Ninperweg nan segkhas	The sun is going down
Ngag iperweg tonas	What is this (the mill) vibrating for
Sakkod iyangnen sinas	It is what must be done here
Sinmakit nan matas	The eyes are painful (through lack of sleep)
Chercher nan charwigkhanas	Pushing the bar
Sakkod iyangnen sinas	It is what must be done here
Esa way matinfas	So that there will be sugar candy
Akas na songliwwas	Come here wife
Ta fomadchangkas nas	To aid us here
Tay nabray nan límas	Because our arms are tired
Mangichercher sinan pakad	Pushing the bar
Ya ngag iyormat sinas	What shall be done here
Sakkod ta pay min-egwas	It is necessary to exert effort

Entako ichercher tet-ewas	Let's go and really push
Ta maammas tinfas	So that sugar candy will be made
Ngag pay awangnentas	What then shall we do
Way fab-alin si ongas.	So there will be something for the children.
Yorwes	*Yorwes* (repeated after each line)
Sad-enakay liwwas	Wait for me, my wife
Kinaay ya chomeeedchas	The cane pile is now small
Narpas nain-anas	It's now all finished
Akittay ónaschas.	They only have a little sugarcane.
Yakey naabfosana	They are empty
Fayaew nan lokfana	These wine jars
Nan lokfan ad Lokfawana	Wine jars from Lokfawan
Nan lokfan nan si Tarkowana	Wine jars of Talkowan
Lokfan ad Tangiíkha	Wine jars from Tangiig
Et as wakas payet kechenga	Tomorrow will be the end
Na eyak faliwsana	Of what I will crush
Ta nailpaskamíya	Because we have finished it
Chakamíyay sinsomogkhówa	We who use this cooking place
Maiwed na ab-afóyowa	There is no sugar candy
Oray mo sinsoychówa	Not even one bowl
Kechengchis ab-afóyowa	And that's the end of sugar candy
Ay ig adchi napnówa	Still not filled
Fayaw nan lokfankówa.	These jars of mine.
Maid painomkówa	I have no drink to offer
Fayaw sinan am-ammaa	To the old men
An sik-a ay arappówa.	To you grandfather.
Maid paisimotkówa	I have not a sip to offer
Fayaw sinan ap-óyowa	For your grandchildren
Narpas ay naisoytówa.	That which makes us lick our lips is finished.
Che cheyesen	*Cheyesen*
Kecheng angkhoynasaa	That's the last of it.
Ya cheyesen	*Cheyesen*
Yeb-ayebfennaa	It's becoming windy
Ya cheyesen.	*Cheyesen.*
Sor-anoy	*Sor-anoy*
As wakas entakot makifogeayaw	Let's go to work tomorrow
E …..	Chorus
Entakot khes mangagkhamaa	Let's also go and gather crabs
Assan agmad wangaa	Crabs from the river
Chessey.	*Chessey.*
Waraw ferey sina oy	The tiredness here is extreme
Ke maid seng-ewna oy	There are no refreshments here
Waraet na ay wete	I'm laden down
Achíka kay oomten	Don't lie on top of me
Waraet na ay wete	I'm laden down

Entakot malidchoyna oy.	Let's go to sleep.
Namóran ad Wanga oy	The moon is shining at the River
Wena oy	Yes, that's right
Sorweey	*Sorweey*
Ya maiwed sil-ewna oy	And there is no pitch pine torch
Sakkod iyangnen sinaa	This is what must be done here
Esatako komenfaa.	Let's go and eat.

3. *Arroyan*

Waschin sikmatennaa	Everybody 'catch' (rice stalks)
Arroyan	*Arroyan* (repeated after each line)
Aney si tengngannaa	In his harvesting section
Aye sas fannenganaa	Get along there at the edge
Komchawtakos limmaa	Let's beg for five (children)
Ta esa way kankówaa	So there will be inheritors
Fanengchad Chamillang.	Their terrace at Illang.

4. *Chag-ay si fáyo*

Chese	*Chese*
Entakot makitóyaa	Let's talk (of love)
Incheyesa	*Incheyesa*
Fabrassang si Khawaa	Young ladies of Khawa (Guinaang)
Nasobras songliwwaa	Left over for wives
Ad-íyak pay sikkaa	Not you however
Fabrassang si Khawaa	Young ladies of Khawa
Nasoklip nan tómaa	Crawling with lice
Kecheng angkhoynas saa.	Finished with you there.

5. Íkhan

Kinchagmi nan totto	We have speared a male water buffalo
Olakyo	*Olakyo*
Iniyayagmis akhími	We have called our relatives
Olakyo	*Olakyo*
Akhimiyay Ilikayan	Our relatives from Ilikayan (Dalican)
Íkhan	*Íkhan*
Fansar ay fongsarwílan	A *fansar* structure that is *fongsarwílan*
Íkhan	*Íkhan*
Winiswisan si khípan	Whittled with a knife
Íkhan	*Íkhan*
Khípan si kakachangyan	Knife of the rich people
Íkhan	*Íkhan*
Olakyo	*Olakyo*

APPENDIX 4

Chaing

San Lengwa	Lengwa
Ay san Lengwa	Lengwa
Khafot san takhos onna	Origin of the people in the beginning
Khafotcha pay tet-ewa.	That's truly their origin.
Kamalig	Kamalig
Ay Kamalig si laraki	Kamalig of the boys
Tay amed nan laraki.	Because boys are important.
Sarapa	Ease down
Ay sarapaen inana	His mother is easing it down
Ta komchaw si inkowana.	To plead for her own.
Ponganga	*Ponganga*
Pongangaen amana	His father is *ponganga*
Ta komchaw si inkowana.	To plead for his own.
San kongan	A white pig
Ay inserwíchas iliyan	They took through the village
Nagred si inkes-akhan.	Was butchered on the *kes-ag* night of the feast.
San lichen	A black pig
Ay inserwíchas iliyan	They took through the village
Nagred si inkes-akhan.	Was butchered on the *kes-ag* night of the feast.
Pochawan	The *podchaw* rice
Ay ninserwíchas iliyan	They took through the village
Narfek si inkes-akhan.	Was pounded on the *kes-ag* night of the feast.
Olíwey	The *olíwey* rice
Ay ninserwíchas iliyan	They took through the village
Narfek si inkes-akhan.	Was pounded on the *kes-ag* night of the feast.
Ipao	The *ipao* sugarcane
Ay linfek si faron takho	Pounded by handsome people
Inkapopno nan marayo.	Filled up the *marayo* wine jars.
Appoti	The *appoti* sugarcane
Ay linfek si fabfafai	Pounded by the women
Ninkapopno nan wangkhi.	Filled up the *wangkhi* wine jars.
San pokaw	The white chicken
Ay sinmakyab si fang-oraw	Flew up to the floor joists of the house granary
Nasanakyab tet-ewa.	It truly just flew up.
San oling	The black chicken
Ay nasanakyab si kiling	Flew up to the ground plates of the house granary
Nasanakyab tet-ewa.	It truly just flew up.
Achawey	A tall one
Ay laraki ay atag-ey	A man who was so tall
Tay inkhaw-eynay anag-ey.	He could reach the top of an *anag-ey* plant.

Kachokhen	With tears (?)
Ay komchawtas latlatokhen	Pleading for one to bounce on the knee
Tay amed nan way latokhen.	Because it is important to have such a one.
Chakokhong	A big one
Ay laraki ay natok-ong	A man who was so well-developed
Ta minsakfatna nan losong.	He could carry a rice mortar on his shoulders
Ad Lok-ong	At Lok-ong
Ay fafaiyet natok-ong	A woman who was so well-developed
Ta minagtona nan losong.	She could carry a rice mortar on her head.
Ngafeng	A shelf (?)
Ay sinabrayanchas khameng	Filled with wine jars
Ay khameng ay kinekekmeng.	Wine jars of *kekekmeng* style (?).
Ad Sorkok	At Sorkok
Ay ninkapopnos pinokok	It is crowded with sucking piglets
Tay chig amed nan pinokok.	Because sucking piglets are very important.
Ad Pokok	At Pokok
Ay inmorfoy nan pinokok	The sucking piglets burst out
Tay am-amed nan pinokok.	Because sucking piglets are very important.
Ad Moling	At Moling
Ay nangemsanchas finíting	Where they bathed the tattooed one
Tay finíting tay laraki.	He has a tattoo, because he is a man.
Kachangran	Kachangran
Ay nangemsanchas kachangyan	Where they bathed the rich one
Tay am-amed nan kachangyan.	Because the rich are very important.
Chakhachag	Chakhachag
Ay nangemsanchas chinakhag	Where they bathed the man with the chest tattoo
Tay chinakhag tay laraki.	He has a chest tattoo, because he is a man.
Ad Orngong	At Orngong
Ay nangemsanchas khinopong	Where they bathed the man wounded in the back
Tay khinopong tay laraki.	He was wounded in the back because he is a man.
Laswíkan	Like the *laswik* tree
Ay laraki ay sosíkan	A man who is contentious
Tay infaktotnay khosíngan.	Because he blocks the rice field outlets.
Falikong	Falikong
Ay inyomyomna nan sinkong	Who gathers small rice fields
Tay chig am-amed nan sinkong.	Because small rice fields are very important.
As Liwen	At Liwen
Ay minwenwenmo ta sak-en	Where you will locate me
Ta am-amed nan sak-en.	Because I am important.
Chakitan	At Chakitan
Ay pakitan si kawitan	The hiding place of the rooster
Tay am-amed nan kawitan.	Because the rooster is very important.
Khamoyo	Khamoyo
Ay nangemsanchas kachang-o	Where they bathe the rich
Tay am-amed nan kachang-o.	Because the rich are very important.

Ad Potek	At Potek
Ay nangemsanchas finatek	Where they bathe the tattooed one
Tay finatek tay laraki.	He has a tattoo because he is a man.
San kichor	The thunder
Ay nakakchoor san kichor	Crashing thunder
Kichor si anFomotngor.	The thunder at the place of Fomotngor.
Nakakyaas	Quickly disappears
Ay nakakyaas tay chem-as,	Quickly disappears because it is a shower
Tay am-amed nan chem-as.	Because a shower is very important.
Ad chera	Outside
Ay ninkapopnos inong-a	It is crowded with children
Tay am-amed nan inong-a.	Because children are very important.
Ad Teytey	At the Ladder
Ay kolibfayen inong-a	Where children attempt to climb (?)
Tay am-amed nan inong-a.	Because the children are very important.
Ad chaya	In the sky
Ay asikok-olimaya	All the stars are twinkling
Tay fab-alin san inong-a.	Because that is the attraction of the children.

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